

AVANT-GARDE  
NATIONALISM  
AT THE  
DUBLIN GATE  
THEATRE, 1928-1940

Ruud van den Beuken



Syracuse University Press

Copyright © 2021 by Syracuse University Press  
Syracuse, New York 13244-5290

All Rights Reserved

First Edition 2021

21 22 23 24 25 26      6 5 4 3 2 1

∞ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

For a listing of books published and distributed by Syracuse University Press,  
visit <https://press.syr.edu>.

ISBN: 978-0-8156-3625-0 (hardcover)      978-0-8156-3643-4 (paperback)  
978-0-8156-5471-1 (e-book)

### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Beuken, Ruud van den, author.

Title: Avant-garde nationalism at the Dublin Gate Theatre, 1928–1940 /  
Ruud van den Beuken.

Description: First edition. | Syracuse : Syracuse University Press, 2021. | Series: Irish studies | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: “While the Dublin Gate Theatre (est. 1928) has become renowned for introducing experimental foreign drama to Ireland, this study is the first to analyse how the Gate also sought to become a site of avant-garde nationalism and to contribute to Irish identity formation in the nation’s first post-independence decades”—Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020028199 | ISBN 9780815636250 (hardcover) |  
ISBN 9780815636434 (paperback) | ISBN 9780815654711 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Dublin Gate Theatre. | Experimental theater—Ireland—Dublin—History. | Theater—Ireland—Dublin—History—20th century. | Theater and society—Ireland—History—20th century.

Classification: LCC PN2602.D82 D83 2021 | DDC 792.09418/35—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020028199>

*Manufactured in the United States of America*

# Contents

|                                                                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Acknowledgments                                                                                 | vii |
| Introduction: <i>"Ireland is one long unending problem"</i>                                     | i   |
| 1. Cosmopolitan Dublin: <i>The Gate Theatre's Cultural Project</i>                              | 11  |
| 2. Mac Liammóir's Exorcism: <i>Memory, Modernity, Identity</i>                                  | 34  |
| 3. Playing Their Part for Ireland: <i>Avant-Garde Patriotism and (Inter)nationalist Poetics</i> | 51  |
| 4. Mythology Making History: <i>Prospective/Prescriptive Memory in Irish Legends</i>            | 76  |
| 5. From History to Identity: <i>Religion, Rebellion, and the Resilience of Memory</i>           | 99  |
| 6. Identity after Independence: <i>Class and Social Geography in Postrevolutionary Ireland</i>  | 144 |
| Conclusion: <i>"Another Ireland, in fact"</i>                                                   | 192 |
| Appendix.                                                                                       |     |
| Original Irish Plays Staged by Edwards–mac Liammóir Productions, 1928–1940                      | 213 |
| Notes                                                                                           | 215 |
| Bibliography                                                                                    | 239 |
| Index                                                                                           | 257 |

## Bibliography

- A.E.M. "New Play at the 'Gate': Grania of the Ships." *Irish Independent*, September 6, 1933, 6.
- Allen, Nicholas. "Imagining the Rising." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 156–68. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.
- . *Modernism, Ireland, and Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009.
- Arrington, Lauren. "Irish Modernism and Its Legacies." In *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, edited by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride, 236–52. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2016.
- . *Revolutionary Lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2016.
- Assmann, Jan. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33.
- Barnett, Louise. *Jonathan Swift in the Company of Women*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007.
- Bartky, Ian R. *One Time Fits All: The Campaigns for Global Uniformity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2007.
- Brown, Terence. *The Literature of Ireland: Culture and Criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010.
- Campbell, Hugh. "Modern Architecture and National Identity in Ireland." In *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, edited by Joe Cleary and Claire Connolly, 285–303. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.
- Canfield, Curtis. *Plays of Changing Ireland*. New York: Macmillan, 1936.
- Carlson, Marvin. "Space and Theatre." In "Interfaces between Irish and European Theatre," special issue, *FOCUS: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies* (2012): 13–23.

- Castle, Gregory. *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001.
- Cave, Richard Allen. "The Dangers and Difficulties of Dramatising the Lives of Deirdre and Grania." In *Perspectives of Irish Drama and Theatre*, edited by Jacqueline Genet and Richard Allen Cave, 1–16. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1991.
- . "Dramatising the Life of Swift." In *Irish Writers and the Theatre*, edited by Masaru Sekine, 17–31. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1987.
- . "Modernism and Irish Theatre 1900–1940." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 121–37. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.
- , ed. *The Selected Plays of T. C. Murray*. Washington, DC: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1998.
- "City in the Dawn: Peace and Fulfilments of Dreams: Pageant of Dublin." *Irish Independent*, September 10, 1929, 8.
- Clare, David. *Bernard Shaw's Irish Outlook*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- . "Goldsmith, the Gate, and the 'Hibernicising' of Anglo-Irish Plays." In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan, 239–59. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- Clare, David, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan. "Introduction." In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan, 1–9. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- Cleary, Joe. "Introduction: Ireland and Modernity." In *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, edited by Joe Cleary and Claire Connolly, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.
- . "'Misplaced Ideas?': Colonialism, Location, and Dislocation in Irish Studies." In *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, edited by Clare Carroll and Patricia King, 16–45. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2003.
- . *Outrageous Fortune: Capital and Culture in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Field Day/Keough-Naughton Institute of Irish Studies, Univ. of Notre Dame, 2006.
- Cole, Alan. "The Gate Influence on Dublin Theatre." *Dublin Magazine* 28, no. 3 (1953): 6–14.
- Collis, Robert. *Marrowbone Lane*. Dublin: Runa, 1943.
- Convery, David. "Writing and Theorising the Irish Working Class." In *A History of Irish Working-Class Writing*, edited by Michael Pierse, 37–56. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2017.

- Corbett, Mary Jean. *Allegories of Union in Irish and English Writing, 1790–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.
- Cowell, John. *No Profit but the Name: The Longfords and the Gate Theatre*. Dublin: O'Brien, 1988.
- CPC. "Notes on Recent Productions." *Motley* 1, no. 2 (1932): 5–6.
- Davies, Alan. *The Crucified Nation: A Motif in Modern Nationalism*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Dean, Joan FitzPatrick. *All Dressed Up: Modern Irish Historical Pageantry*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2014.
- . "Pageants, Parades, and Performance Culture." In *Modern and Contemporary Irish Drama*, edited by John P. Harrington, 613–22. New York: Norton, 2009.
- . "Rewriting the Past: Historical Pageantry in the Dublin Civic Weeks of 1927 and 1929." *New Hibernia Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 20–41.
- DeGiacomo, Albert J. *T. C. Murray, Dramatist: Voice of Rural Ireland*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2003.
- DM. "Prophetic Play by Pearse." *Irish Press*, March 29, 1932, 5.
- . "Yahoo at the Gate Theatre: Lord Longford's Play on Dean Swift." *Irish Press*, September 20, 1933, 3.
- Doody, Margaret Ann. "Swift and Women." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, edited by Christopher Fox, 87–111. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003.
- "Dramatic Enterprise in Dublin: New Company Floated." *Irish Independent*, October 7, 1929, 8.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*. London: Verso, 1995.
- Edwards, Hilton. "To the Editor of *The Irish Times*." *Irish Times*, March 19, 1935, 4.
- . *The Mantle of Harlequin*. Dublin: Progress House, 1958.
- . "Production." In *The Gate Theatre*, edited by Bulmer Hobson, 21–45. Dublin: Gate Theatre, 1934.
- . "Why the Dublin Gate Theatre?" *Motley* 1, no. 1 (1932): 3–4.
- Edwards, Hilton, and Micheál mac Liammóir. "The Dublin Gate Theatre Studio." 1928. Pamphlet. Ir 3919 d 2. National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
- . "The Dublin Gate Theatre Studio." 1929. Pamphlet. Ir 3919 d 2. National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

- Eglinton, John. "What Should Be the Subjects of National Drama?" 1899. In *Modern Irish Drama*, 2nd ed., edited by John P. Harrington, 410–12. New York: Norton, 1991, 2009.
- Fabricant, Carole. "Swift the Irishman." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, edited by Christopher Fox, 48–72. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003.
- Fallis, Richard. *The Irish Renaissance: An Introduction to Anglo-Irish Literature*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1977.
- Fallon, Brian. *An Age of Innocence: Irish Culture, 1930–1960*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998.
- Fallon, Gabriel. "Some Aspects of Irish Theatre." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 36, no. 143 (1947): 296–306.
- . "Those Dwellers in Marrowbone Lane." *Irish Monthly* 67, no. 798 (1939): 841–45.
- Fay, Frank J. "An Irish National Theatre." 1901. In *Modern Irish Drama*, edited by John P. Harrington, 391–94. New York: Norton, 1991.
- Ferrar, Harold. *Denis Johnston's Irish Theatre*. Dublin: Dolmen, 1973.
- "A Fianna Play." *Irish Times*, November 19, 1928, 4.
- Fitzpatrick, David. *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories since 1795*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014.
- Fitz-Simon, Christopher. *The Boys: A Biography of Micheál MacLiammoir and Hilton Edwards*. London: Nick Hern, 1994.
- . *The Irish Theatre*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1983.
- "The Ford of the Hurdles: Pageant Play at the Mansion House." *Irish Times*, September 10, 1929, 5.
- Foster, Gavin M. *The Irish Civil War and Society: Politics, Class, and Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." 1984. Translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27.
- Frawley, Oona. "Introduction." In *Memory Ireland, Vol. 1: History and Modernity*, edited by Oona Frawley, xiii–xxiv. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2010.
- . "Towards a Theory of Cultural Memory in an Irish Postcolonial Context." *Memory Ireland, Vol. 1: History and Modernity*, edited by Oona Frawley, 18–34. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2010.
- Frazier, Adrian. "Irish Acting in the Early Twentieth Century." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 231–47. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.

- Freedley, George, and John A. Reeves. *A History of the Theatre*. New York: Crown, 1941.
- "Future of Gate Theatre: Mr. H. Edwards Interviewed." *Irish Times*, January 29, 1936, 12.
- Gassner, John. *The Theatre in Our Times: A Survey of the Men, Materials, and Movements in the Modern Theatre*. New York: Crown, 1954.
- "Gate Theatre's Venture to Acquire Spacious Hall." *Irish Independent*, June 28, 1929, 5.
- Geoghegan, Patrick M. *King Dan: The Rise of Daniel O'Connell 1775–1829*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2008.
- . *Robert Emmet: A Life*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2002; Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2004.
- Gibbons, Luke. *Transformations in Irish Culture*. Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 1996.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity, 1990.
- Gilbert, Helen, and Joanne Tompkins. *Post-colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Girel-Pietka, Virginie. "Denis Johnston at the Gate: A Groundbreaking yet Neglected Writer." In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan, 111–30. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- . "'Winds of Change' in *The Moon in the Yellow River* and *The Dreaming Dust* by Denis Johnston: Staging Identity in a Crisis." *Journal of Franco-Irish Studies* 3, no. 1 (2013): 84–99.
- God's Gentry program. 1951. 1820\_MPG\_0001. Gate Theatre Digital Archive, James Hardiman Library, National Univ. of Ireland Galway.
- "A Good Play at the Gate Theatre." *Irish Times*, March 29, 1933, 4.
- "Great Success of Juggernaut." *Irish Independent*, April 2, 1929, 8.
- Gregory, Lady Augusta. *Gods and Fighting Men*. London: John Murray, 1905.
- . Excerpts from *Our Irish Theatre: A Chapter of Autobiography*. 1913. In *Modern Irish Drama*, edited by John P. Harrington, 377–86. New York: Norton, 1991.
- Grene, Nicholas. *The Politics of Irish Drama: Plays in Context from Boucicault to Friel*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- Grimbert, Joan Tasker. *Tristan and Isolde: A Casebook*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Hansen, Jim. *Terror and Irish Modernism: The Gothic Tradition from Burke to Beckett*. Albany, NY: State Univ. of New York Press, 2009.



- "Happy Family, by Mary Manning." *Irish Times*, April 25, 1934, 4.
- Hawkins, Maureen S. G. "Playing Both Ends Against the Middle: Boucicault's Political Positions in *Robert Emmet*." In *Ritual Remembering: History, Myth and Politics in Anglo-Irish Drama*, edited by C. C. Barfoot and Rias van den Doel, 41–50. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995.
- Heinige, Kathleen. *Buffoonery in Irish Drama: Staging Twentieth-Century Post-colonial Stereotypes*. New York: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Hennessey, Katherine. "Memorable Barbarities and National Myths: Ancient Greek Tragedy and Irish Epic in Modern Literature." PhD diss., Univ. of Notre Dame, 2008.
- Heusner Lojek, Helen. "Negotiating Differences in the Plays of Frank McGuinness." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 497–514. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.
- Higgins, Roisín. *Transforming 1916: Meaning, Memory and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Easter Rising*. Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 2012.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "The Generation of Postmemory." *Poetics Today* 29. no. 1 (2008): 103–28.
- Hogan, Robert. *After the Irish Renaissance: A Critical History of the Irish Drama since The Plough and the Stars*. London: Macmillan, 1968.
- Hogan, Robert, Richard Burnham, and Daniel P. Poteet. *The Abbey Theatre: The Rise of the Realists, 1910–1915*. Dublin: Dolmen, 1978.
- Hogan, Robert, and Michael J. O'Neill, eds. *Joseph Holloway's Irish Theatre*, vol. 1. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1968.
- . *Joseph Holloway's Irish Theatre*, vol. 2. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1969.
- . *Joseph Holloway's Irish Theatre*, vol. 3. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1970.
- Holdsworth, Nadine. "Introduction." In *Theatre and National Identity: Re-imagining Conceptions of Nation*, edited by Nadine Holdsworth, 1–16. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- "Housing Needs of Dublin." *Irish Times*, November 4, 1939, 11.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1986.
- Innes, C. L. "Modernism, Ireland, and Empire: Yeats, Joyce, and Their Implied Audiences." In *Modernism and Empire*, edited by Howard J. Booth and Nigel Rigby, 137–55. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2000.

- “Irishman’s Diary.” *Irish Times*, May 19, 1933, 4.
- “An Irish Problem Play: *Juggernaut* a Popular Success at the Dublin Gate Theatre.” *Southern Star*, April 6, 1929, 5.
- “An Irish Review: *The Old Lady Says ‘No!’*” *Irish Times*, July 4, 1929, 4.
- Jameson, Fredric. “Marxism and Historicism.” 1979. In *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 1971–1986*, Vol. II: *Syntax of History*, 148–77. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Johnston, Denis. *A Bride for the Unicorn*. In *Storm Song and A Bride for the Unicorn: Two Plays*, 153–301. London: Jonathan Cape, 1935.
- . *A Bride for the Unicorn*. 1933. Typescript. MS 10066/3/1. Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin.
- . “Concerning the Unicorn.” In *The Dramatic Works of Denis Johnston*, vol. 2, 13–15. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1979.
- . “The Making of the Theatre.” In *The Gate Theatre*, edited by Bulmer Hobson, 11–20. Dublin: Gate Theatre, 1934.
- . “A National Morality Play.” *Motley* 1, no. 1 (1932): 4–5.
- . *The Old Lady Says “No!”* In *Plays of Changing Ireland*, edited by Curtis Canfield, 37–102. New York: Macmillan, 1936.
- . *The Old Lady Says “No!”* 1929. Typescript. MS 10066/2/7. Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin.
- . “Opus One.” In *The Dramatic Works of Denis Johnston*, vol. 1, 15–18. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1977.
- . Preface to the *Collected Plays*. 1960. In *The Dramatic Works of Denis Johnston*, vol. 2, 5–10. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1979.
- . “Public Opinion: A National Morality Play.” *Bell* 1, no. 6 (1941): 89–91.
- . “Towards a Dynamic Theatre.” *Motley* 2, no. 4 (1933): 3–6.
- Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. 1922. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998.
- “*Juggernaut*: New Play Produced with Success in Dublin.” *Evening Herald*, March 20, 1929, 3.
- J.W.G. “New Irish Verse Play.” *Irish Independent*, June 6, 1929, 9.
- . “Play Dickens Would Have Enjoyed: Gate Season Success.” *Irish Independent*, January 14, 1929, 6.
- Katz Clarke, Brenna, and Harold Ferrar. *The Dublin Drama League, 1918–1941*. Dublin: Dolmen, 1979.
- Kearney, Richard. *Postcolonial Ireland: Politics, Culture, Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 1997.

- . *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture*. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1988.
- Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*. London: Vintage, 1996.
- Kinealy, Christine. “Beyond Revisionism: Reassessing the Great Irish Famine.” *History Ireland* 3, no. 4 (1995): 28–34.
- . “‘The Famine Killed Everything’: Living with the Memory of the Great Hunger.” In *Ireland’s Great Hunger: Silence, Memory, and Commemoration*, edited by David A. Valone, 3–13. Lanham, MD: Univ. Press of America, 2002.
- Kruger, Loren. *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Lally, Des. “The Fictionalisation of Hilton Edwards and Micheál macLiammóir in the Novel *Stravaganza!* (1963), by Paul Smith.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan, 193–207. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- Lally, Des, David Clare, and Ruud van den Beuken. “Gate Theatre Chronology (1928–1982): The Edwards-macLiammóir and Longford Directorates.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan, 341–85. Dublin: Carysfort/Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018.
- Landsberg, Alison. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2004.
- Lanters, José. “Desperationists and Ineffectuals: Mary Manning’s Gate Plays of the 1930s.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan, 97–110. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- . “Queer Creatures, Queer Place: Otherness and Normativity in Irish Drama from Synge to Friel.” In *Irish Theatre in Transition: From the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century*, edited by Donald E. Morse, 54–67. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Lee, Joseph. *Ireland, 1912–1985: Politics and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989.
- Leeney, Cathy. “Class, Land, and Irishness: Winners and Losers: Christine Longford (1900–1980).” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan, 161–79. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.

- . *Irish Women Playwrights, 1900–1939: Gender and Violence on Stage*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.
- . “Not-So-Gay-Young-Things: Mary Manning’s *Youth’s the Season*—? as Staged in 1930s London.” In *Irish Theatre in England*, edited by Richard Cave and Ben Levitas, 157–68. Dublin: Carysfort, 2007.
- Leerssen, Joep. *Mere Irish & Fíor-ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development, and Literary Expression prior to the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986.
- . *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press/Field Day, 1996.
- Levitas, Ben. “The Abbey and the Idea of a Theatre.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 41–57. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.
- . *The Theatre of Nation: Irish Drama and Cultural Nationalism, 1890–1916*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002.
- Lloyd, David. *Irish Times: Temporalities of Modernity*. Dublin: Field Day, 2008.
- . “The Memory of Hunger.” In *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*, edited by David L. Eng and David Kazanjian, 205–28. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003.
- Lonergan, Patrick. *Theatre and Globalization: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Longenbach, James. *Modernist Poetics of History: Pound, Eliot, and the Sense of the Past*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1987.
- Longford, Christine. *Mr. Jiggins of Jigginstown*. In *Plays of Changing Ireland*, edited by Curtis Canfield, 269–320. New York: Macmillan, 1936.
- Longford, Edward. *Ascendancy*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1935.
- . “A National Asset.” *Motley* 1, no. 1 (1932): 2.
- . “The National Theatre at Athens.” *Motley* 2, no. 5 (1933): 6–8.
- . “Preface.” In *The Gate Theatre*, edited by Bulmer Hobson, 9–10. Dublin: Gate Theatre, 1934.
- . *Yahoo*. In *Plays of Changing Ireland*, edited by Curtis Canfield, 153–91. New York: Macmillan, 1936.
- Mac Liammóir, Micheál. *All for Hecuba: A Theatrical Autobiography*. Rev. ed. Dublin: Progress House, 1961.
- . *Diarmuid and Gráinne*. 1928. Typescript. MS 41,247/1. National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

- . *The Ford of the Hurdles*. 1929. Typescript. MS 24,562. National Library of Ireland, Dublin
- . Draft of *The Ford of the Hurdles*. 1929. Typescript. Miscellany J, Box 1, Folder 12. Dublin Gate Theatre Archive, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern Univ., Evanston, IL.
- . “Problem Plays.” In *The Irish Theatre: Lectures Delivered during the Abbey Theatre Festival Held in Dublin in August 1938*, edited by Lennox Robinson, 199–227. London: Macmillan, 1939.
- . Preface to Hilton Edwards, *The Mantle of Harlequin*, xiii–xvi. Dublin: Progress House, 1958.
- . *Theatre in Ireland*. 2nd ed. Dublin: Three Candles, 1964.
- . *Where Stars Walk*. In *Selected Plays of Micheál mac Liammóir*, edited by John Barrett, 1–73. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1998.
- Mac Liammóir, Micheál, and Eavan Boland. *W. B. Yeats and His World*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1971.
- McBride, Ian. “Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland.” In *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, edited by Ian McBride, 1–42. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001.
- McIvor, Charlotte, and Siobhán O’Gorman. “Devising Ireland: Genealogies and Contestations.” In *Devised Performance in Irish Theatre: Histories and Contemporary Practice*, edited by Charlotte McIvor and Siobhán O’Gorman, 1–32. Dublin: Carysfort, 2015.
- McLean, Stuart. *The Event and Its Terrors: Ireland, Famine, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2004.
- McMinn, Joseph. “Swift’s Life.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, edited by Christopher Fox, 14–30. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003.
- Madden, Tom. *The Making of an Artist: Creating the Irishman Micheál MacLiammóir*. Dublin: Liffey, 2015.
- Malone, Irina Ruppó. “Denis Johnston’s Ibsen and Post-revivalist Ireland.” In *Ibsen and Chekov on the Irish Stage*, edited by Ros Dixon and Irina Ruppó Malone, 51–60. Dublin: Carysfort, 2012.
- . “Ibsen and the Irish Free State: The Gate Theatre Company Productions of *Peer Gynt*.” *Irish Univ. Review* 39, no. 1 (2009): 42–64.
- Manning, Mary. “Dublin Has Also Its Gate Theater.” *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 17, 1935.
- . “The Gate Theatre, 1932–33.” *Motley* 2, no. 4 (1933): 2–3.

- . *Happy Family*. 1934. Typescript. P.93, Box 42. Dublin Gate Theatre Archive, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Illinois.
- . “An Open Letter to *The Leader*.” *Motley* 1, no. 2 (1932): 12–13.
- . “The Present Position of Irish Drama.” *Motley* 1, no. 6 (1932): 2.
- . “Processional.” *Motley* 2, no. 7 (1933): 6–9.
- . “Processional.” *Motley* 2, no. 8 (1933): 10–12.
- . “Realism.” *Motley* 1, no. 7 (1932): 2–3.
- . “Still Going Forward.” *Motley* 2, no. 5 (1933): 2–3.
- . “Subsidies.” *Motley* 1, no. 3 (1932): 2.
- . Untitled. In *Enter Certain Players: Edwards-MacLiammoir and the Gate 1928–1978*, edited by Peter Luke, 35–39. Dublin: Dolmen, 1978.
- . “A Word about the Audience.” *Motley* 1, no. 4 (1932): 2.
- . *Youth’s the Season—?* In *Plays of Changing Ireland*, edited by Curtis Canfield, 321–404. New York: Macmillan, 1936.
- Mannion, Elizabeth. *Getting Personal: The Urban Plays of the Early Abbey Theatre*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2014.
- “Marrowbone Lane: New Play at the Gate Theatre.” *Irish Times*, October 11, 1939, 6.
- Marx, Karl. “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.” 1852. In *Selected Works*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 93–171. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1968.
- Maxwell, D. E. S. *A Critical History of Modern Irish Drama, 1891–1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984.
- Meaney, Gerardine, Mary O’Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan. *Reading the Irish Woman: Studies in Cultural Encounter and Exchange, 1714–1960*. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 2013.
- Miller, Anne Irene. *The Independent Theatre in Europe, 1887 to the Present*. New York: R. Long & R. R. Smith, 1931.
- Miller, Nicholas Andrew. *Modernism, Ireland, and the Erotics of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- Misztal, Barbara A. “Memory and History.” In *Memory Ireland, Vol. I: History and Modernity*, edited by Oona Frawley, 3–17. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2010.
- Mokyr, Joel, and Cormac Ó Gráda. “What Do People Die of During Famines: The Great Famine in Comparative Perspective.” *European Review of Economic History* 6, no. 3 (2002): 339–63.

- Moran, James. *Staging the Easter Rising: 1916 as Theatre*. Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 2005.
- Morash, Chris. "Denis Johnston's Swift Project: 'There Must Be Something Wrong with the Information.'" *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 33, no. 2 (2007): 56–59.
- . *A History of Irish Theatre, 1601–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- . "Places of Performance." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 425–42. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.
- . *Writing the Irish Famine*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995.
- Morash, Chris, and Shaun Richards. *Mapping Irish Theatre: Theories of Space and Place*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013.
- "Mr. Johnston's New Play: *A Bride for the Unicorn*: Expressionism at the Gate." *Irish Times*, May 10, 1933, 6.
- Murphy, Paul. "Ireland's Haunted Stages." *FOCUS: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies*, special issue, "Interfaces between Irish and European Theatre" (2012): 24–36.
- Murphy, Richard. *Theorizing the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism, and the Problem of Postmodernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.
- Murray, Christopher. "The History Play Today." In *Cultural Contexts and Literary Idioms in Contemporary Irish Literature*, edited by Michael Kenneally, 269–89. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1988.
- . "The Irish Theatre: The First Hundred Years, 1897–1997." In *Irish Theatre in Transition: From the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century*, edited by Donald E. Morse, 13–30. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- . *Twentieth-Century Irish Drama: Mirror up to Nation*. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1997.
- . "'Where Are They Now?': Plays of Significance in the 1940s and 1950s." In *Players and Painted Stage: Aspects of the Twentieth-Century Theatre in Ireland*, edited by Christopher Fitz-Simon, 57–72. Dublin: New Island, 2004.
- Murray, T. C. *A Flutter of Wings*. Serialized in *Daily Express*, October 13–23, 1930.
- "A New Lord Longford Play." *Irish Press*, January 30, 1935, 5.
- Nolan, Jerry. "Edward Martyn's Struggle for an Irish National Theater, 1899–1920." *New Hibernia Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 88–105.

- O'Brien, John. "Expressionism and the Formative Years: Insights from the Early Diaries of Denis Johnston." *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 15, no. 1 (1989): 34–57.
- O'Connor, Barry. *Turf-Fire Stories and Fairy Tales of Ireland*. New York: P. J. Kenedy, 1890.
- O'Faoláin, Sean. "Mr. O Faolain's Plea for the Abbey Theatre: An Open Letter to Dr. W. B. Yeats." *Irish Times*, March 2, 1935, 7.
- O'Halpin, Eunan. *Defending Ireland: The Irish State and Its Enemies since 1922*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999.
- . "Politics and the State, 1922–1932." In *A New History of Ireland, Vol. VII: Ireland, 1921–84*, edited by J. R. Hill, 86–126. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003.
- Ó hAodha, Micheál. *The Importance of Being Micheál: A Portrait of MacLiammóir*. Dingle: Brandon, 1990.
- . "T. C. Murray and Some Critics." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 47, no. 186 (1958): 185–91.
- . *Theatre in Ireland*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1974.
- O'Toole, Tina. *The Irish New Woman*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Owens, Cólín, and Joan Newlon Radner, eds. *Irish Drama 1900–1980*. Washington, DC: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1990.
- O'Rourke Murphy, Maureen, and James MacKillop. *An Irish Literature Reader: Poetry, Prose, Drama*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2006.
- Pellizzi, Camillo. "As Italy Sees Us: Literary Men of Ireland—The Poet Æ." *Motley* 3, no. 4 (1934): 3.
- Peppis, Paul. *Literature, Politics, and the English Avant-Garde: Nation and Empire, 1901–1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.
- Pierse, Michael, "Introduction." In *A History of Irish Working-Class Writing*, edited by Michael Pierse, 1–36. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2017.
- . *Writing Ireland's Working Class: Dublin after O'Casey*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- An Philibín (J. H. Pollock). *Tristram and Iseult*. Dublin: Talbot, 1924.
- Pilkington, Lionel. "The Abbey Theatre and the Irish State." In *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Irish Theatre*, edited by Shaun Richards, 231–43. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004.
- . *Theatre & Ireland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Pilný, Ondřej. "Doing Justice to Swift: Denis Johnston's Solution in Diverse Modes." In *Beyond Realism: Experimental and Unconventional Irish Drama since*



- the Revival*, edited by Joan FitzPatrick Dean and José Lanthers, 77–92. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2015.
- . *Irony and Identity in Modern Irish Drama*. Prague: Litteraria Pragensia, 2008.
- Pine, Emilie. *The Politics of Irish Memory: Performing Remembrance in Contemporary Irish Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Pine, Richard. *All for Hecuba: An Exhibition to Mark the Golden Jubilee of the Edwards-mac Liammóir Partnership and of the Gate Theatre, 1928–1978*. Dublin: Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, 1978. Exhibition catalog.
- . “The Gate—Home and Away.” In *Irish Theatre on Tour*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 161–77. Dublin: Carysfort, 2005.
- . “Micheál macLiammóir: The Erotic-Exotic and the Dublin Gate Theatre.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan, 63–96. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- Pine, Richard, and Richard Allen Cave. *The Dublin Gate Theatre, 1928–1978*. Teaneck, NJ: Chadwyck-Healey, 1984.
- Poulain, Alexandra. *Irish Drama, Modernity, and the Passion Play*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- “The Proclamation of the Irish Republic.” 1916. In *Dublin 1916: The Siege of the GPO*, by Clair Wills, ii. London: Profile Books, 2009.
- Reddin, Norman. “A National Theatre.” *Motley* 1, no. 1 (1932): 6–8.
- “Review of the Week’s Amusements: The Gate.” *Evening Mail*, March 29, 1932, 7.
- Reynolds, Paige. “Direction and Design to 1960.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre*, edited by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, 201–16. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2016.
- . *Modernism, Drama, and the Audience for Irish Spectacle*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007.
- Richards, Shaun. “‘Unthreatening in the Provincial Irish Air’: Ireland’s Modernist Theatre.” *Irish Studies Review* 26, no. 3 (2018): 390–405.
- Rigney, Ann. “Divided Pasts: A Premature Memorial and the Dynamics of Collective Remembrance.” *Memory Studies* 1 (2008): 89–97.
- Robinson, Lennox. *The Abbey Theatre: A History, 1899–1951*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1951.
- Robinson, Nicholas. “Marriage Against Inclination: The Union and Caricature.” In *Acts of Union: The Causes, Context, and Consequences of the Act of*

- Union*, edited by Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan, 140–58. Dublin: Four Courts, 2001.
- Said, Edward, “Afterword: Reflections on Ireland and Postcolonialism.” In *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, edited by Clare Carroll and Patricia King, 178–85. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2003.
- Scott, Michael. Untitled. In *Enter Certain Players: Edwards-MacLiammoir and the Gate 1928–1978*, edited by Peter Luke, 19–20. Dublin: Dolmen, 1978.
- Sears, David. “Brilliant New Play by Lady Longford.” *Irish Independent*, March 29, 1933, 6.
- . “Dublin Lady’s Play: *Youth’s the Season?* at the Gate.” *Irish Independent*, December 9, 1931, 10.
- . “An Extraordinary Play: Mr Tocher’s Work.” *Irish Independent*, July 4, 1929, 6.
- . “*A Flutter of Wings*: First Night Success.” *Irish Independent*, November 11, 1930, 8.
- . *Grania of the Ships*. 1933. Typescript. MS 19,765. National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
- . *Juggernaut*. Birr: Midland Tribune, 1952.
- . “Mary Manning’s New Comedy: *Happy Family* at the Gate Theatre.” *Irish Independent*, April 25, 1934, 10.
- . “New Play at the Gate Theatre.” *Irish Independent*, January 30, 1935, 9.
- . “A Portrait of Dean Swift: Lord Longford’s Play.” *Irish Independent*, September 20, 1933, 9.
- . “*Where Stars Walk*: Dublin Sees New Play.” *Irish Independent*, February 20, 1940, 7.
- “Sears Play Success at the Gate Theatre.” *Evening Herald*, September 6, 1933, 6.
- Shakespeare, William. *As You Like It*. In *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 655–80. Oxford: Clarendon, 1986, 2005.
- Sisson, Elaine. “Appeasing Pearse’s Ghost: History, Memory, and Theatre.” In *Patrick Pearse and the Theatre*, edited by Eugene McNulty and Róisín Ní Ghairbhí, 161–72. Dublin: Four Courts, 2017.
- . “Dublin Civic Week and the Materialisation of History.” In *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising*, edited by Lisa Godson and Joanna Brück, 138–45. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 2015.
- . “Experimentalism and the Free State: Mrs Cogley’s Cabaret and the Founding of the Gate Theatre 1924–1930.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin*:

- Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan, 11–27. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- . “Experimentalism and the Irish Stage: Theatre and German Expressionism in the 1920s.” In *Ireland, Design, and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922–1992*, edited by Linda King and Elaine Sisson, 39–55. Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 2011.
- . “‘A Note on What Happened’: Experimental Influences on the Irish Stage, 1919–1929.” *Kritika Kultura* 15 (2010): 132–48.
- Stafford, Seán. “Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe: Galway’s Gaelic Theatre.” *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 52 (2002): 183–214.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Treasure Island*. 1883. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1915.
- St. Peter, Christine. “Denis Johnston, the Abbey, and the Spirit of the Age.” *Irish Univ. Review* 17, no. 2 (1987): 187–206.
- . Introduction to *The Old Lady Says “No!”*, by Denis Johnston, 1–45. Washington, DC: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1992.
- . “The Old Lady: In Principio.” In *Denis Johnston: A Retrospective*, edited by Joseph Ronsley, 10–23. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1981.
- Swift, Jonathan. “Drapier’s Letter I.” 1724. In *Jonathan Swift: The Major Works*, edited by Angus Ross and David Woolley, 422–31. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003.
- . “Drapier’s Letter IV.” 1724. In *Jonathan Swift: The Major Works*, edited by Angus Ross and David Woolley, 434–47. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003.
- . “Dr Swift’s Will, with the Codicil Annexed.” In *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, vol. 1, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 516–27. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1824.
- . “Swift to Lord Carteret.” April 27, 1724. In *Jonathan Swift: The Major Works*, edited by Angus Ross and David Woolley, 431–32. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003.
- “Tragedy and Comedy in Triple Bill.” *Irish Times*, March 29, 1932, 4.
- Trotter, Mary. *Modern Irish Theatre*. Cambridge: Polity, 2008.
- Van den Beuken, Ruud. “‘Ancient Ireland Comes to Rathmines’: Memory, Identity, and Diversity in Micheál macLíammóir’s *Where Stars Walk* (1940).” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan, 47–61. Dublin: Carysfort/Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018.

- . “‘A Lament for the Fianna in a Time When Ireland Shall Be Changed’: Prospective/Prescriptive Memory and (Post-)Revolutionary Discourse in Mythological Gate Plays.” *Études irlandaises* 43, no. 2 (2018): 197–208.
- . “MacLiammóir’s Minstrel and Johnston’s Morality: Cultural Memories of the Easter Rising at the Dublin Gate Theatre.” *Irish Studies Review* 23, no. 1 (2015): 1–14.
- . “Remembering the Drapier and King Dan: The Sectarian Legacies of Swift and O’Connell in Edward Longford’s *Yahoo* (1933) and *Ascendancy* (1935).” In *Irish Studies and the Dynamics of Memory: Transitions and Transformations*, edited by Marguérite Corporaal, Christopher Cusack, and Ruud van den Beuken, 19–39. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017.
- . “‘Three Cheers for the Descendancy!’: Middle-Class Dreams and (Dis)illusions in Mary Manning’s *Happy Family* (1934).” In *Navigating Ireland’s Theatre Archive: Theory, Practice, Performance*, edited by Barry Houlihan, 141–57. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019.
- Walsh, Ian R. “Hilton Edwards as Director: Shade of Modernity.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan, 29–45. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- Walshe, Éibhear. “Sodom and Begorrah, or Game to the Last: Inventing Michael Mac Liammóir.” In *Sex, Nation and Dissent in Irish Writing*, edited by Éibhear Walshe, 150–69. Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 1997.
- . *Oscar’s Shadow: Wilde, Homosexuality, and Modern Ireland*. Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 2011.
- Walshe, Maurice. Foreword to *Juggernaut*, by David Sears, 4–5. Birr: Midland Tribune, 1952.
- Wertsch, James V. *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- Whelan, Feargal. “Lord Longford’s *Yahoo*: An Alternative Myth from an Alternative National Theatre.” In *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft*, edited by David Clare, Des Lally, and Patrick Lonergan, 147–59. Dublin: Carysfort/Peter Lang, 2018.
- Whelan, Kevin. “Pre- and Post-famine Landscape Change.” In *The Great Irish Famine*, edited by Cathal Póirtéir, 19–34. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1995.
- “*Where Stars Walk*: MacLiammoir Play at the Gaiety.” *Irish Times*, February 20, 1940, 5.
- “*Where Stars Walk*: MacLiammóir Play at the Gaiety.” *Evening Herald*, February 20, 1940, 6.

- Wilde, Oscar. "The Critic as Artist." 1890. In *Oscar Wilde: Plays, Prose Writings, and Poems*, 1–67. London: David Campbell/Everyman's Library, 1991.
- Wills, Clair. *Dublin 1916: The Siege of the GPO*. London: Profile Books, 2009.
- . *That Neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War*. London: Faber & Faber, 2007.
- Yeats, William Butler. *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. 1902. In *The Collected Plays of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed., 73–88. London: Macmillan, 1952.
- . "Easter 1916." 1921. In *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed., 202–5. London: Macmillan, 1950.
- . *The Land of Heart's Desire*. 1894. In *The Collected Plays of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed., 51–72. London: Macmillan, 1952.
- . "The Man and the Echo." 1939. In *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed., 393–95. London: Macmillan, 1950.
- . "The Rose Tree." 1921. In *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed., 206. London: Macmillan, 1950.
- . "September 1913." 1914. In *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed., 120–21. London: Macmillan, 1950.
- "Youth's the Season—?: Gate Theatre New Play." *Irish Times*, December 9, 1931, 6.
- Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*. Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2003.

# Index

- Abbey Theatre, 1, 11–12, 43, 45, 77, 102, 116, 120, 131, 136, 179, 185; and Dublin Drama League, 13–14, 18–19, 42; and Dublin Gate Theatre, 2–8, 14, 16, 22–23, 25–32, 53–57, 61–62, 65–67, 71, 208, 218n52, 219n65, 219n71
- Act of Union (1800/1801), 77–78, 110–11, 168
- Allen, Nicholas, 52, 57, 60, 62, 70, 134
- An Comhar Drámaíochta, 208
- Andreyev, Leonid, 217n33; *The Dear Departing*, 13–14
- Anglo-Irish War (1919–21). *See* Irish War of Independence (1919–21)
- An Philibín (pseud. J. H. Pollock), 83, 91; *Tristram and Iseult*, 77, 83–86, 89, 91, 93, 203, 205, 225n4
- Appia, Adolphe, 72, 216n18
- Army Comrades Association (ACA), 4, 40, 112, 144, 177
- Arrington, Lauren, 12, 32
- Ascendancy, 41, 109–11, 146–47, 154–71
- Asch, Sholem, 15, 217n33
- Assmann, Jan, 186
- avant-garde, 3–4, 6–10, 32–33, 36, 41–44, 58–60, 63, 67–75, 193, 208, 220n40. *See also* Dublin Drama League; Dublin Gate Theatre: avant-garde nationalism and cultural identity formation, establishment
- Ballets Russes, 35–36
- Bannard Cogley, Madame Daisy “Toto,” 18
- Barnett, Louise, 105
- Baudelaire, Charles, 2
- Beckett, Samuel, 18, 169
- Benavente, Jacinto, 15
- Benjamin, Walter, 2
- Berkeley, George (Bishop), 105, 108, 161, 229n23
- Boland, Eavan, 219n58, 235n40
- Boucicault, Dion, *Robert Emmet*, 116
- Brontë, Emily, *Wuthering Heights*, 208
- Brown, Terence, 31
- Buckley, Herbert, 23
- Burke, Ulick (pseud. Lilian Davidson), 208
- Burrowes, Peter, 118
- Byrne, David, 29
- Cabinet of Dr Caligari, The* (dir. Robert Wiene), 21
- Callow, Simon, 36
- Campbell, Hugh, 144
- Canfield, Curtis, 25–26, 103, 106, 218n52

- Čapek, Josef, *The Land of Many Names*, 231n75
- Čapek, Karel, 7
- Carlson, Marvin, 51, 62, 75, 106, 222n4
- Carmichael, Coralie, 84, 208
- Carteret, John (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), 102
- Casella, Alberto, *Death Takes a Holiday*, 193
- Casement, Roger, 132
- Castle, Gregory, 41, 166
- Cathleen ni Houlihan (figure), 49, 85, 88, 90, 120, 154, 178, 197, 207. *See also* Gregory, Lady Augusta: *Cathleen ni Houlihan*; Yeats, W. B.: *Cathleen ni Houlihan*
- Catholic Emancipation, 100, 109–10, 205. *See also* Longford, Lord Edward: *Ascendancy*
- Cave, Richard Allen, 30, 76, 92, 129, 147, 179, 225n74
- Celtic Revival, 4–5, 8, 17–18, 34, 36, 41–45, 50, 55–56, 58, 71, 77, 164, 166–67, 170, 196–99, 201, 205
- Chancellor, Betty, 208
- Chekhov, Anton, 13, 15, 165; *The Cherry Orchard*, 171
- cinema, 39, 182; and perceived danger to theater, 67, 69–75, 204, 225n82
- Clare, David, 25, 215n12, 236n52, 238n18
- Clare, Richard de (“Strongbow”), 175
- class, 9, 12, 41, 110, 126, 137, 146–47, 154–91, 194–202, 205–6
- Cleary, Joe, 38–39, 146
- Cocteau, Jean, 217n33
- Cole, Alan, 26–28
- Collis, Robert, 4, 146, 184–86; *Marrowbone Lane*, 184–92, 205–6, 237n78
- commedia dell’arte, 73
- Connolly, James, 130
- Convery, David, 186
- Copeau, Jacques, 15
- Copeland, Fanny S., 13
- Corbett, Mary Jean, 77–78
- Cosgrave, W. T., 40
- Coward, Noël, 7
- Cowell, John, 220n74
- Craig, Edward Gordon, 72, 216n18
- Cromwell, Oliver, 92, 95–96, 111, 189
- cubism, 36
- Cumann na nGaedheal, 40, 112, 124, 144
- Curran, Sarah, 116–17, 121, 124–25, 142, 154. *See also* Johnston, Denis: *The Old Lady Says “No!”*
- dadaism, 42
- Davies, Alan, 117
- Davis, Thomas, 108; “The West’s Asleep,” 232n89
- Dean, Joan FitzPatrick, 93, 97, 117, 133–35, 233n100
- DeGiacomo, Albert J., 236n59
- Derbforgaill (Queen Consort of Bréifne), 95
- De Valera, Éamon, 4, 40, 46, 146
- Diaghilev, Sergei, 15
- Dickens, Charles, *Nicholas Nickleby*, 186
- Doody, Margaret Ann, 228n16
- Dowling, John, 39
- Dramick. *See* New Players
- Drennan, William, 122, 231n67
- Drumm, James J., 4
- Dublin Drama League, 3, 13, 16, 18–19, 26, 32, 42, 67
- Dublin Gate Theatre: academic reception 6, 24–33, 207; avant-garde nationalism and cultural identity formation 3–10, 41–43, 52, 194, 204–9,

- 220n40; credentials as alternative national theater, 5, 55–56, 59–69, 75, 204–9; establishment 14–24; initial reception, 20–21, 217n39; original contemporary plays, 144–91; original historical plays, 100–43; original mythological plays, 76–98; policy to promote new Irish playwrights, 4–8, 19, 30, 63–66, 69, 103, 203–7; schism (1936), 24, 192; sociocultural climate, 3–4, 10, 20, 57–58, 208–9, 220n77; technical innovations, 3, 6–7, 14–15, 19–21, 26, 28–29, 31, 45, 59, 71–75, 104, 107, 122, 131, 203–7, 225n74; tours abroad, 6, 24, 26, 34, 192–93, 207. *See also* Abbey Theatre; and Dublin Gate Theatre
- Dublin Lockout (1913). *See* Lockout (1913)
- Dymov, Osip (pseud. Iosif Isidorovich Perel'man), 217n33
- Eagleton, Terry, 38–40
- Easter Rising (1916), 13, 40–41, 43–44, 65, 101, 130, 136, 150, 154, 158, 164, 168, 197, 203, 231n74; representation in drama, 77, 82–83, 85–86, 92, 97, 115, 127, 130–35, 137, 142, 150, 177, 185
- Edwards, Hilton, 14–16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 36, 102, 108, 169, 179, 192–93, 202, 204, 206–8; and cinema, 59, 69–75, 225n85; (inter)nationalist poetics, 67–69, 224n68; theatrical poetics 4, 6, 15, 21, 31–32, 71–75, 128, 204, 208
- Eglinton, John (pseud. William Magee), 99–100
- Elizabeth I (Queen of England and Ireland), 88
- Ellis, Hazel, 208
- Emmet, Robert, 47–48, 97, 108, 115–17, 120–30, 145, 161, 188, 205, 237n82; alleged complicity with France, 230n54; patriotic poetry, 117, 230n43, 232n89; speech from dock, 101, 117–20, 133, 142, 145. *See also* Johnston, Denis: *The Old Lady Says “No!”*; Mac Liammóir, Micheál: *The Ford of the Hurdles*
- Ethnikon Theatron, 61
- Evreinov, Nikolai, 15, 21, 217n33; *A Merry Death*, 72, 83, 208
- expressionism, 15, 21, 53–54, 67, 72–73, 101, 107, 120, 131, 205, 208. *See also* avant-garde
- Fabricant, Carole, 102, 227n6, 228n17
- Fallis, Richard, 219n66
- Fallon, Brian, 57
- Fallon, Gabriel, 26–28, 184
- Famine (1845–50), 39, 47, 49, 94, 114, 149–50, 170, 184, 186–91
- Farrell, M. J., 208
- Fay, Frank W., 12
- Fay, William G. (“Willie”), 12
- Ferrar, Harold, 13, 120, 129
- Fianna Fáil, 40, 57, 112, 144, 192
- Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 188, 237n82
- Fitzpatrick, David, 236n51
- Fitz-Simon, Christopher, 3, 14–15, 20–21, 29, 31, 34, 215n8, 219n65
- Fleming, John, 118
- Flood, Henry, 108
- Forristal, Desmond, 215n9, 219n65; *The Seventh Sin*, 29
- Foster, Gavin M., 221n29
- Foucault, Michel, 123
- Fox, George, 190
- France, Anatole, *The Comedy of the Man who Married a Dumb Wife*, 131



- Frawley, Oona, 47, 51, 168  
 Freedley, George, 25  
 Friel, Brian, 28, 52, 215n9
- Gaelic League, 43  
 Gaiety Theatre, 102, 193, 219n58  
 Galsworthy, John, *The Little Man*, 83  
 Gantillon, Simon, 217n33  
 Gassner, John, 8, 26–28  
 Gate Theatre. *See* Dublin Gate Theatre;  
     London Gate Theatre  
 Gate Theatre Research Network, 207–8  
 Gay, John, *The Beggar's Opera*, 171  
 Geoghegan, Patrick M., 117, 119  
 George I (King of Great Britain and  
     Ireland), 101, 105  
 Gibbons, Luke, 2, 40–41, 46, 168  
 Giddens, Anthony, 44, 71  
 Gilbert, Helen, 97  
 Girel-Pietka, Virginie, 234n13  
 Godfrey, Peter, 15–16. *See also* London  
     Gate Theatre  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 15,  
     217n33; *Faust*, 23, 218n48  
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 208  
 Grattan, Henry, 108, 126, 231n73  
 Greensfelder, Elmer, 217n33  
 Greenwood, Walter, *Love on the Dole*, 186  
 Gregory, Lady Augusta, 7, 12, 22, 26, 32,  
     45, 99, 120, 136; *Cathleen ni Houlihan*,  
     81, 88–89, 93–94, 124, 127, 139, 141,  
     227n37; *Gods and Fighting Men*, 77,  
     80, 149; *Grania*, 76, 92  
 Grene, Nicholas, 48, 129, 137  
 Griffith, Arthur, 108
- Hansen, Jim, 78  
 Hassenclaver, Walter, 217n33  
 Hawkins, Maureen S. G., 116  
 Heaney, Seamus, “Act of Union,” 78  
 Heinige, Kathleen, 58  
 Hennessey, Katherine Anne, 238n9  
 Henry, Paul, 4  
 Heusner Lojek, Helen, 238n20  
 Higgins, Roisín, 130  
 Hirsch, Marianne, 47, 49, 190  
 Hobson, Bulmer, 12, 45, 62, 71  
 Hogan, Robert, 163, 187, 219n62  
 Holdsworth, Nadine, 52–53, 97  
 Holloway, Joseph, 20–21, 80, 84, 179,  
     218n48, 226n22, 228n15, 229n30,  
     234n23, 235n47, 236n67, 237n5  
 Home Rule, 131, 137, 181  
 Huyssen, Andreas, 41–42, 75  
 Hyde, Douglas, 43, 193; *The Love Songs  
     of Connacht*, 36
- Ibsen, Henrik, 13, 15, 217n33; *Peer Gynt*,  
     20–21, 80, 234n14; *The Wild Duck*, 171  
 Independent Dramatic Company, 13  
 Innes, C. L., 221n22  
 Intimate Theatre Company, 14, 34  
 Irish Civil War (1922–23), 2, 40–41, 47,  
     60, 111–12, 120, 124–27, 134, 144,  
     150, 154, 158, 164, 168, 191, 205  
 Irish Literary Theatre, 12, 22, 77, 99. *See  
     also* Abbey Theatre  
 Irish National Theatre Society, 12. *See  
     also* Abbey Theatre  
 Irish Republican Army, 40, 112, 137–41,  
     144  
 Irish Theatre Company, 3, 13, 65  
 Irish War of Independence (1919–21), 9,  
     40, 57, 87, 100–101, 114–15, 125–27,  
     131, 134, 136–41, 146, 158–59, 164,  
     168, 191, 205
- James II (King of England, Scotland,  
     and Ireland), 110, 189  
 Jameson, Fredric, 58

- Jellett, Bay, 208
- Johnson, Ben, 7
- Johnson, Esther ("Stella"), 102–4, 142
- Johnston, Denis, 1, 4, 7, 13, 21, 24–26, 32, 61, 63, 67, 147, 215n12; *A Bride for the Unicorn*, 147–54, 205–6; *The Dreaming Dust*, 102–3, 147; *The Old Lady Says "No!"*, 21, 24–26, 53–54, 72–73, 101, 107, 116, 120–30, 133, 137, 142, 145, 147, 153–54, 194, 203, 205, 219n61, 231n63, 232n89; plans for national morality play, 101, 133–37, 142, 225n74, 233n100; *The Scythe and the Sunset*, 150; sponsorship by Abbey Theatre, 230n59; theatrical poetics, 69–70
- Joyce, James, 18, 164–65; *Finnegans Wake*, 92; *Ulysses*, 51, 97, 142–43, 152, 165
- Kaiser, Georg, 15–16, 217n33; *Gas*, 208
- Katz Clarke, Brenna, 13
- Kearney, Richard, 2, 37, 42, 76, 78, 81, 91
- Kelly, Mary ("Eva"), 122, 231n67
- Kiberd, Declan, 6, 46, 100, 207, 231n74
- Kommisarzhenskaya, Vera, 71
- Kruger, Loren, 53
- Lally, Des, 25, 215n12, 238n20
- Landsberg, Alison, 44
- Land War (late 19th century), 40, 111
- Lanters, José, 163
- Larchet, J. F., 226n22
- Larkin, Jim, 188
- Lavery, Maura, 28, 203, 208, 215n9, 219n65; *Liffey Lane*, 203; *Tolka Row*, 203; *A Tree in the Crescent*, 203
- Leeney, Cathy, 162–63, 168–70, 178
- Leerssen, Joep, 2, 38, 227n40
- Le Fanu, Sheridan, *Carmilla*, 208
- Lefebvre, Henri, 122
- Levitas, Ben, 215n8, 222n9
- Lloyd, David, 39
- Lloyd George, David, 181
- Lockout (1913), 187–88, 190, 237n82
- London Gate Theatre, 15–16, 18, 67
- Loneragan, Patrick, 25, 56, 215n12
- Longenbach, James, 58
- Longford, Lady Christine, 4, 24, 32, 146, 192, 208, 220n74; *Mr. Jiggins of Jigginstown*, 26, 155–62, 171, 178, 205–6
- Longford, Lord Edward, 4, 24, 32, 142, 192, 204, 208, 220n74; *Ascendancy*, 100, 108–15, 141–42, 205; (inter) nationalist poetics, 59–68; *The Melians*, 208; *Yahoo*, 26, 100, 102–8, 115, 141–42, 205, 232n89
- Lowe-Porter, H. T., 208
- Macardle, Dorothy, 208
- MacDonagh, Donagh, 202–3, 215n9; *God's Gentry*, 202
- MacDonagh, Thomas, 13, 65, 130, 133, 203
- Mac Liammóir, Micheál, 72, 84, 101, 128, 135, 144, 193, 208–9, 217n33, 235n40; adopted Irish identity, 34–37, 43–51, 195–96, 202, 204; *Diarmuid and Gráinne*, 9, 14, 21, 36, 77, 80–83, 85–86, 88–89, 91, 93, 192, 203, 205, 238n9; *The Ford of the Hurdles*, 77, 92–98, 100–101, 116–19, 131–37, 142, 205, 232n97; *The Importance of Being Oscar*, 26, 219n58; (inter)nationalist poetics, 3–10, 14–24, 32, 42–51, 67; problem plays, 1–2; support of Irish-language drama, 12, 18, 21, 208; *Talking About Yeats*, 219n58; *Where Stars Walk*, 10, 192–202, 219n61, 238n9

- MacMurchadha, Diarmuid (King of Leinster), 92, 95–96
- Madden, Tom, 35, 220n9
- Maeterlinck, Maurice, 36, 217n33
- Maguire, Tom, “Bold Robert Emmet,” 231n68
- Mahon, Denis, 114
- Malone, Irina Ruppo, 234n14
- Manning, Mary, 4–5, 13, 28, 32, 61, 134, 146, 204, 208, 219n65, 223n42; editor of *Motley*, 60; *Happy Family*, 171–78, 184, 205–6; (inter)nationalist poetics, 63–66; *Youth’s the Season*—?, 26, 155, 162–71, 178, 205–6, 235n33
- Mannion, Elizabeth, 228n10, 230n41
- Markievicz, Count Casimir, 13
- Markievicz, Countess Constance, 238n8
- Marlowe, Christopher, 7
- Martyn, Edward, 3, 12–13, 65, 216n6
- Marx, Karl, 123, 126
- Mary (Queen of Scots), 208
- Maxwell, D. E. S., 219n65, 236n60
- McBride, Ian, 79, 133
- McGuinness, Frank, 52; *Gates of Gold*, 238n20
- McIvor, Charlotte, 97
- McLean, Stuart, 39
- McMaster, Anew, 14–15, 34–35, 216n17
- McMinn, Joseph, 102
- McQuaid, John Charles (Archbishop), 20
- Meaney, Gerardine, 163, 208
- memory, 2–3, 9–10, 36, 38–39, 43–52, 55, 57–58, 62, 194–95, 199–201, 204–7; and contemporary Ireland, 144–91; and Irish history, 99–143; and Irish mythology, 76–98; mnemonic templates, 47, 237n77; postcolonial memory 46–47, 168; postmemory, 47–49, 140; prospective/prescriptive memory, 79–80, 86, 90–91, 93–94, 100, 114, 119, 129, 131, 141, 151–53, 201, 205; prosthetic memory, 44, 137, 140–41, 204
- Meyerhold, Vsevolod, 71
- Miller, Anne Irene, 25
- Miller, Nicholas Andrew, 10, 43, 49, 58, 189
- Misztal, Barbara A., 2, 47
- Mitchel, John, 108, 123, 161, 175
- modernity, 2, 4–5, 8–10, 12–13, 37–44, 51, 55–59, 69–75, 100–101, 120, 123–24, 126, 129, 144, 158, 161, 164, 196, 201–2, 206–7
- Mohr, Max, 217n33
- Molyneux, William, 161
- Monson, Cecil, *Three Leopards*, 208
- Mooney, Ria, 208
- Moore, George, 48; *Diarmuid and Grania*, 76
- Moore, Meriel, 208, 231n77
- Moore, Thomas, “She Is Far from the Land,” 116, 125
- Moran, James, 130, 135
- Morash, Chris, 11, 13, 20, 31, 39–40, 52, 58, 72–73, 79, 81, 92, 120, 122, 130, 135, 139, 145, 186, 202, 204, 215n8, 218n47, 222n62, 225n74
- Motley*, 45, 60, 63–70, 101, 133–34, 225n82, 232n97
- Murphy, Paul, 222n4
- Murphy, Richard, 42
- Murphy, Tom, 52
- Murray, Christopher, 11, 53–55, 59, 87, 100, 129, 202, 207, 223n14
- Murray, T. C., 1, 15, 146, 179–80, 183–84, 236n59; *Birthright*, 179; *A Flutter of Wings*, 171–72, 179–84, 205–6

- Napoleon I (Emperor of France), 119  
 naturalism, 7, 27, 56, 68, 71, 167, 204.  
*See also* realism
- New Players ("The Dramick"), 16,  
 216n24
- Nic Shiubhlaigh, Máire, 12
- Nijinski, Vaclav, 35
- Ní Mháille, Gráinne, 87. *See also* Sears,  
 David: *Grania of the Ships*
- Nolan, Jerry, 224n54
- Norbury, Lord (John Toler), 118
- Nosferatu* (dir. F. W. Mumeau), 21
- O Briain, Liam, 12, 18
- O'Brien, John, 231n75
- O'Casey, Sean, 7, 14, 148, 186, 231n72;  
*The Plough and the Stars*, 12, 130–31,  
 150; *The Silver Tassie*, 179
- O Cenchubhair, Ruaidhri (High King  
 of Ireland), 95
- O'Connell, Daniel, 100, 109–11, 114,  
 140, 229n34
- O'Connor, Frank, 1
- O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah, 123
- O'Dowd, Mary, 163, 208
- O'Duffy, Eoin, 4, 40, 112
- O'Faoláin, Seán, 54–56, 224n68, 232n94
- O'Flaherty, Liam, 231n72
- O'Gorman, Siobhán, 97
- O'Grady, Standish, 117–18
- Ó hAodha, Micheál, 11, 29, 31, 35–36,  
 179, 219n64
- O'Keefe, Máire, 35
- O'Malley, Grace. *See* Ní Mháille, Gráinne
- O'Neill, Eugene, 15, 21, 148, 217n33;  
*Anna Christie*, 217n39; *The Hairy Ape*,  
 16, 80, 216n23
- O'Riordan, Conal, *An Imaginary Con-  
 versation*, 116
- O'Ruiare, Tiernán (King of Bréifne), 95
- O'Toole, Tina, 180
- Pakenham, Edward. *See* Longford, Lord  
 Edward
- Parnell, John Stuart, 108, 161
- Peacock Theatre, 19–20, 32, 80, 83, 192,  
 203. *See also* Dublin Gate Theatre:  
 establishment
- Pearse, Patrick, 13, 43, 47, 85, 101, 108,  
 117, 123, 130–31, 133, 135–36, 150;  
*The Singer*, 131, 135; "The Wayfarer,"  
 132
- Pellizzi, Camillo, 69
- Peppis, Paul, 221n40
- Pierse, Michael, 146, 186, 188
- Pilkington, Lionel, 55–56
- Pilný, Ondřej, 120
- Pine, Emilie, 50–52, 62, 106–7, 115, 134
- Pine, Richard, 30–31, 35, 68, 145, 206,  
 219n71, 237n1
- Piscator, Erwin, 71
- Pitoëff, Georges and Ludmilla, 15
- Plunkett, Joseph, 13, 65; "I See His  
 Blood Upon the Rose," 226n24
- Plunkett, William, 118
- postcolonialism: and audiences, 58, 103,  
 107; contested definitions, 37–38; and  
 memory, 46–48, 168; and modernity,  
 31, 164; and national identity forma-  
 tion, 2–3, 8, 34, 59–60, 64, 75, 77–78,  
 92–93, 97, 109, 115, 120–21, 127–28,  
 131, 133, 135, 142, 171–72, 180, 191,  
 194, 197, 202, 205, 207, 209; and  
 temporality, 50; and victimization,  
 16–17, 46
- Poulain, Alexandra, 121, 129
- Proust, Marcel, 165
- Purcell, Lewis, 12

- Queen's Royal Theatre, 116
- realism, 31, 54, 71–74, 104, 155, 204, 237n78. *See also* naturalism
- Reddin, Norman, 24, 32, 65–66, 204
- Reeves, John A., 25
- Reid, Christina, 52
- Revivalism. *See* Celtic Revival
- Reynolds, Paige, 58, 70, 73, 97, 215n12
- Rice, Elmer, 21
- Richards, Shaun, 31, 39–40, 52, 72–73, 79, 81, 92, 122, 130, 135, 139, 202, 204, 220n76, 225n74
- Ricoeur, Paul, 106
- Rigney, Ann, 189
- Robinson, Lennox, 3, 13–14, 19, 32, 45, 230n59; *The Dreamers*, 116
- Russell, George (“Æ”), 69; *Deirdre*, 76
- Said, Edward, 78, 144
- Scott, Michael, 23, 144, 218n47
- Sean-Bhean Bhocht (figure), 48, 83, 89, 93–94, 178. *See also* Cathleen ní Houlihan (figure)
- Sears, David, 4, 61, 63, 142; *Grania of the Ships*, 77, 86–92, 103, 205; *Juggernaut*, 26, 101, 136–42, 203, 205, 233n109; reviews of Gate plays, 103, 109, 128, 157, 170, 173, 179, 193
- sectarianism, 2, 60, 100–115, 142, 146, 155, 157, 161–62, 177, 191
- Shaffer, Peter, *Equus*, 29
- Shakespeare, William, 7, 192–93; *As You Like It*, 60; *The Comedy of Errors*, 193; *Othello*, 193
- Shaw, George Bernard, 180, 182–83, 193, 208; *Caesar and Cleopatra*, 14; *Don Juan in Hell*, 193; *John Bull's Other Ireland*, 219n61
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 116
- Simmel, Georg, 2
- Sinn Féin, 40, 44, 138–39, 158
- Sirr, Henry Charles, 121
- Sisson, Elaine, 18, 21, 56, 70, 131, 133, 135, 154
- Southey, Robert, 116
- Stauffer, Donald, 208
- Steinbeck, John, *The Grapes of Wrath*, 186
- Stevenson, Robert Louis, *Treasure Island*, 177
- Strindberg, August, 217n33
- Studio Art Cabaret Club, 18
- surrealism, 39, 42
- Swift, Jonathan, 101–8, 115, 141, 161, 228n10, 228n17, 228n23; *Gulliver's Travels*, 104, 107, 229n25; publication of Drapier's Letters, 9, 100–102, 105–7, 109, 227n6. *See also* Longford, Lord Edward: *Yahoo*
- Synge, J. M., 7, 12, 14–15, 217n25, 235n37, 235n38; *Deirdre of the Sorrows*, 76, 167; *The Playboy of the Western World*, 12
- Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe, 12, 18, 21, 80, 217n29. *See also* Mac Liammóir, Micheál: support of Irish-language drama
- Theatre of Ireland, 12–13, 203, 216n6
- Toller, Ernst, 16, 217n33
- Tompkins, Jeanne, 97
- Tone, Theobald Wolfe, 47–48, 108, 110, 123, 146, 161, 188, 237n82
- Touhy, Patrick, 231n72
- Trotter, Mary, 56, 103, 120, 129, 161
- Tuan, Yi-Fu, 72
- Tucić, Srgjan, *The Liberators*, 13
- Twomey, Maurice, 112. *See also* Irish Republican Army

- United Irishmen, 110, 188, 231n67. *See*  
also Tone, Theobald Wolfe
- Vanhomrigh, Esther ("Vanessa"), 103–4,  
142
- Vildrac, Charles, 217n33
- Vorticism, 221n40
- Walsh, Ian R., 75
- Walsh, Maurice, 136
- Walshe, Éibhear, 34
- Wellington, Duke of (Arthur Wellesley),  
109
- Werfel, Franz, 217n33
- Wertsch, James V., 47, 237n77
- Whelan, Bernadette, 163, 208
- Whelan, Feargal, 61, 103, 107
- Wilde, Oscar, 7, 35, 37, 163, 208, 217n33;  
*Salomé*, 20, 37
- William III (King of England, Scotland,  
and Ireland), 110, 189
- Wills, Clair, 134, 186, 232n97, 237n78
- Wolfe Tone. *See* Tone, Theobald Wolfe
- Wood, William, 101–2, 104, 227n6
- World War I (1914–18), 57, 137–38, 168,  
179, 181
- World War II (1939–45), 3, 46, 120, 145,  
173, 178, 192, 201
- Yeats, W. B., 7, 30, 42, 117, 132, 202;  
and Abbey, 12, 26–27, 32, 42, 45, 54,  
61, 68, 120, 224n68, 230n59; *Cathleen*  
*ni Houlihan*, 81, 88–89, 93–94, 124,  
127, 139, 141, 227n37; *The Count-*  
*ess Cathleen*, 219n58; *Deirdre*, 76,  
167; *Diarmuid and Grania*, 76; and  
Dublin Drama League, 3, 13–14,  
19; "Easter, 1916," 82; inspires mac  
Liammóir, 17–18, 35, 49–50; *The*  
*King of the Great Clock Tower*, 219n58;  
*The Land of Heart's Desire*, 195, 202;  
"Man and the Echo," 141; *Purgatory*,  
1; "The Rose Tree," 85; "September  
1913," 237n82; "Sixteen Dead Men,"  
236n54; *The Words upon the Window-*  
*Pane*, 102–3
- Zerubavel, Eviatar, 237n77

**Ruud van den Beuken** is assistant professor of English literature at Radboud University Nijmegen (The Netherlands) and the assistant director of the NWO-funded Gate Theatre Research Network. He received the 2015 Irish Society for Theatre Research (ISTR) New Scholars' Prize and held a Visiting Research Fellowship at the Moore Institute (National University of Ireland Galway) in 2018.